1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 Ry9 Koryak Ry9

of the dwelling (Yaya'-kamak-lō) is placed in the shrine (op-yan) and fed on different occasions.

Divining-Stones. — The divining-stone plays an important part in the ritualistic life of the Koryak. Like all the guardians, the divining-stone constitutes a necessary attribute of the family hearth. Divining is practised at all ceremonies, — when a child is given a name, before starting on a journey, after a death, during the whale festival, etc. The divining-stone is sewed up in a leather bag (Fig. 15), and a number of charms are frequently attached

Fig. 14, *a* (2/11), *b* (2/12). Special House Guardians. Length, 25 cm., 27 cm.

Fig. 15 (2/17). Divining-Stone. Total length, 28 cm.

to it. When in use, it is hung on a stick, a question is put, and the stick is lifted. If the stone does not move, it means that the answer is in the negative. If it swings, it indicates an affirmative answer. Sometimes two or three sticks are tied together, and the stone is hung from the point where they are joined. By inclining this support, the stone is enabled to swing. Divining-stones are rounded pebbles picked up on the river-banks, but selected by experienced men or shamans. Before they are used, a spell is wrought over them. The divining-stone is called an-a'pel or an-a'pila'qu ("little grandmother").

Amulets. — All objects over which incantations are uttered are called ewya'nwičō (ewya'na signifies "conjuring," endowing with supernatural power"), and serve as amulets. In this sense, all the Koryak *penates* and guardians

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

IV. — SHAMANISM AND INCANTATIONS.

Shamanism.

General Remarks. — Shamanism may be defined as the art of influencing, by the help of guardian spirits, the course of events. Among the Koryak we may distinguish professional shamanism and family shamanism. Professional shamans are those who are inspired by special spirits. Their opportunities for displaying their powers are not limited to a certain group of people. The more powerful they are, the wider is the circle in which they can practise their art. Family shamanism is connected with the domestic hearth, whose welfare is under its care. The family shaman has charge of the celebration of family festivals, rites, sacrificial ceremonies, of the use of their charms and amulets, and of their incantations. Some women possess, besides the knowledge of incantations which are a family secret, that of a considerable number of other incantations, which they make use of outside of the family circle for a consideration.

Professional Shamans. — The professional shaman is called eñe'ñala'n (that is, a man inspired by spirits), from e'ñeñ ("shaman's spirit").[1] Every shaman has his own guardian spirits, that help him in his struggle with the disease-inflicting kalau, in his rivalry with other shamans, and also in attacks upon his enemies. The shaman spirits usually appear in the form of animals or birds. The most common guardian spirits are the wolf, the bear, the raven, the sea-gull, and the eagle. Nobody can become a shaman of his own free will. The spirits enter into any person they may choose, and force him to become their servant. Those that become shamans are usually nervous young men subject to hysterical fits, by means of which the spirits express their demand that the young man should consecrate himself to the service of shamanism. I was told that people about to become shamans have fits of wild paroxysm alternating with a condition of complete exhaustion. They will lie motionless for two or three days without partaking of food or drink. Finally they retire to the wilderness, where they spend their time enduring hunger and cold in order to prepare themselves for their calling. There the spirits appear to them in visible form, endow them with power, and instruct them. The second of the two shamans of whom I shall speak below told me how the spirits of the wolf, raven, bear, sea-gull, and plover, appeared to him in the desert, — now in the form of men, now in that of animals, — and commanded him to become a shaman, or to die.

[1] At present the Koryak also term the Christian God and the images of the Orthodox Church e'ñeñ.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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During the entire period of my sojourn among the Koryak I had opportunity to see only two shamans. Both were young men, and neither enjoyed special respect on the part of his relatives. Both were poor men who worked as laborers for the rich members of their tribe. One of them was a Maritime Koryak from Alutor. He used to come to the village of Kamenskoye in company with a Koryak trader. He was a bashful youth. His features, though somewhat wild, were flexible and pleasant, and his eyes were bright. I asked him to show me proof of his shamanistic art. Unlike other shamans, he consented without waiting to be coaxed. The people put out the oil-lamps in the underground house in which he stopped with his master. Only a few coals were glowing on the hearth, and it was almost dark in the house. On the large platform which is put up in the front part of the house as the seat and sleeping-place for visitors, and not far from where my wife and I were sitting, we could just discern the shaman in an ordinary shaggy shirt of reindeer-skin, squatting on the reindeer-skins that covered the platform. His face was covered with a large oval drum.

Suddenly he commenced to beat the drum softly and to sing in a plaintive voice: then the beating of the drum grew stronger and stronger; and his song — in which could be heard sounds imitating the howling of the wolf, the groaning of the cargoose, and the voices of other animals, his guardian spirits — appeared to come, sometimes from the corner nearest to my seat, then from the opposite end, then again from the middle of the house, and then it seemed to proceed from the ceiling. He was a ventriloquist. Shamans versed in this art are believed to possess particular power. His drum also seemed to sound, now over my head, now at my feet, now behind, now in front of me. I could see nothing; but it seemed to me that the shaman was moving around us, noiselessly stepping upon the platform with his fur shoes, then retiring to some distance, then coming nearer, lightly jumping, and then squatting down on his heels.

All of a sudden the sound of the drum and the singing ceased. When the women had relighted their lamps, he was lying, completely exhausted, on a white reindeer-skin on which he had been sitting before the shamanistic performance (Plate II, Fig. 1). The concluding words of the shaman, which he pronounced in a recitative, were uttered as though spoken by the spirit whom he had summoned up, and who declared that the "disease" had left the village, and would not return.

The shaman's prediction suited me admirably, for one of the old Koryak had forbidden his children to go into the house where I stopped to take measurements, saying that they would die if they allowed themselves to be measured.[1]

[1] It will be interesting to quote here from the work of Dr. Slunin (I, p. 378) on this subject: "Up to this time no one has taken any anthropological measurements of the Koryak; and this is impossible, for they are too ignorant and superstitious, and they are exceedingly opposed to being measured. They absolutely refused to comply with our request in this matter, despite the hospitality we met in their homes."

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 R94 Koryak RY4

He also tried to stir up the other Koryak against me, pointing out to them that an epidemic of measles had broken out after the departure of Dr. Slunin's expedition, and that the same thing might take place after I left.

I made an appointment with the shaman's master to have him call on me, together with the shaman, on the following day. I wished to take a record in writing of the text of the incantations which I had heard; but when I woke up in the morning, I was informed that the shaman had left at daybreak.

I saw another shaman among the Reindeer Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsula. He had been called from a distant camp to treat a syphilitic patient who had large ulcers in his throat that made him unable to swallow. I was not present at the treatment of the patient, since the latter lived in another camp, at a distance of several miles from us, and I learned of the performance of the rite only after it was over. The Koryak asserted that the patient was relieved immediately after the shamanistic exercises, and that he drank two cups of tea without any difficulty. Among other things, the shaman ordered the isolation of the patient from his relatives, lest the spirits that had caused the disease might pass to others. A separate tent was pitched next to the main tent for the patient and his wife, who was taking care of him. I lived in the house of the patient's brother, the official chief of the Taigonos Koryak. At my request he sent reindeer to bring the shaman. The shaman arrived. His appearance did not inspire much confidence.

In order to obtain a large remuneration, he refused at first, under various pretexts, to perform his art. I asked him to "look at my road;" that is, to divine whether I should reach the end of my journey safely. The official chief said that this performance must take place in my own tent, and not in that of some one else; but the shaman declared that his spirits would not enter a Russian lodging, and that he would be in deadly peril if he should call up spirits for a foreigner. Finally it was decided that the peril for the shaman would be eliminated by making his remuneration large enough to completely satisfy the spirits. I promised to give the shaman, not only a red flannel shirt, which he liked very much, but also a big Belgian knife. I had offered him first the choice of one of the two articles; but he declared that his spirits liked one as well as the other.

Another difficulty arose over the drum. The chief himself found a way out of it by means of casuistry. He gave his own drum, saying that a family drum must not be taken into another Koryak's house, but that it was permissible to take it into mine. The drum was brought into my tent by one of the three wives of the chief. It was in its case, because the drum must not be taken out of the house without its cover. A violation of this taboo may result in bringing on a blizzard.

During the shamanistic exercises there were present, besides my wife and myself, the chief, his wife who had brought the drum, my cossack, and

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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the interpreter. The shaman had a position on the floor in a corner of the tent, not far from the entrance (see Plate II, Fig. 2). He was sitting with his legs crossed, and from time to time he would rise to his knees. He beat the drum violently, and sang in a loud voice, summoning the spirits. As he explained to me after the ceremony, his main guardian spirits (e'ñeñs) were One-who-walks-around-the-Earth (No'taka'vya, one of the mythical names of the bear), Broad-soled-One (Umya'ılhın, one of the mythical names of the wolf), and the raven. The appearance of the spirits of these animals was accompanied by imitations of sounds characteristic of their voices. Through their mediation he appealed to The-One-on-High (Gı'čhola'n) with the following song, which was accompanied by the beating of the drum: —

"Nıme'leu neye'iten.
"(It is) good that (he) should arrive.

Nume'leñ ho'mma nme'leu ove'ka o'pta neye'itek."
Also I should well myself also reach home."

That is, "Let him reach home safely, and let me also reach home safely." Suddenly, in the midst of the wildest singing and beating of the drum, he stopped, and said to me, "The spirits say that I should cut myself with a knife. You will not be afraid?"[1] — "You may cut yourself, I am not afraid," I replied. "Give me your knife, then. I am performing my incantations for you, so I have to cut myself with your knife," said he. To tell the truth, I commenced to feel somewhat uneasy; while my wife, who was sitting on the floor by my side, and who was completely overwhelmed by the wild shrieks and the sound of the drum, entreated me not to give him the knife. Until that time I had heard different narratives about shamans cutting their abdomen, but I had never seen it done. On the Palpal Mountains I was told that a woman shaman, who died quite recently, used to treat her patients by opening the affected place, cutting out a piece of flesh, and swallowing it, thus destroying the disease, together with the spirit that had caused it. It was said that the wound she made would heal up immediately. Several times I attended the exercises of a Tungus shaman nicknamed Mashka, who subsequently served me as guide on my way from Gishiga to the Kolyma. He pretended that his guardians belonged to the Koryak spirits, and demanded that he cut himself with his knife. The wild fits of ecstasy which would possess him during his performances frightened me. In such cases he would demand all those present to give him a knife or a spear. He was married to a Yukaghir woman from the Korkodon River, whose brother was also a shaman. She would always search him before a performance, take away all his knives, and request all those present not to give him any sharp instruments, for he had once cut himself nearly to death. His spirits, being of Koryak origin, spoke out of him in the Koryak language; i. e., part of the performance was in the Koryak

[1] Shamans, with the help of the spirits, may cut and otherwise injure their bodies without suffering harm.

l: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

language. I asked him several times to dictate to me what his spirits were saying, and he would invariably reply that he did not remember, that he forgot everything after the seance was over, and that, besides, he did not understand the language of his spirits. At first I thought that he was deceiving me; but I had several opportunities of convincing myself that he really did not understand any Koryak. Evidently he had learned by heart Koryak incantations which he could pronounce only in a state of excitement.

To return to our Koryak shaman. I took from its sheath my sharp "Finnish" travelling-knife, that looked like a dagger, and gave it to him. The light in the tent was put out; but the dim light of the arctic spring night (it was in April), which penetrated the canvas of the tent, was sufficient to allow me to follow the movements of the shaman. He took the knife, beat the drum, and sang, telling the spirits that he was ready to carry out their wishes. After a little while he put away the drum, and, emitting a rattling sound from his throat, he thrust the knife into his breast up to the hilt. I noticed, however, that after having cut his jacket, he turned the knife downward. He drew out the knife with the same rattling in his throat, and resumed beating the drum. Then he turned to me, and said that the spirits had secured for me a safe journey over the Koryak land, and predicted that the Sun-Chief (Tiyk-e'yim) — i. e., the Czar — would reward me for my labors.

Contrary to my expectations, he returned the knife to me (I thought he would say that the knife with which he had cut himself must be left with him), and through the hole in his jacket he showed spots of blood on his body. Of course, these spots had been made before. However, this cannot be looked upon as mere deception. Things visible and imaginary are confounded to such an extent in primitive consciousness, that the shaman himself may have thought that there was, invisible to others, a real gash in his body, as had been demanded by the spirits. The common Koryak, however, are sure that the shaman actually cuts himself, and that the wound heals up immediately.

Shamans that change their Sex. — Among the Koryak, only traditions are preserved of shamans who change their sex in obedience to the commands of spirits. I do not know of a single case of this so-called "transformation" at the present time. Among the Chukchee, however, even now shamans called ırka"-la'ul may be found quite often. They are men clothed in woman's attire, who are believed to be transformed physically into women. The transformed shamans were believed to be the most powerful of all shamans. The conception of the change of sex arises from the idea, alluded to farther on, of the conformity between the nature of an object and its outer covering or garb. Among the Koryak they were called qava'u or qeve'u. In his chapter on the Koryak, Krasheninnikoff makes mention of the ke'yev, — i. e., men occupying the position of concubines,[1] — and he compares them with the Kamchadal

[1] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 222.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY 4 Koryak RY4

lamp, and mixed the oil with the cut willow-herb (*Epilobium angustifolium*). These were ground with spawn of the dog-salmon (*Oncorhynchus keta*), various kinds of berries, — crow-berries (*Empetrum nigrum*), cranberries (*Vaccinium vitis idæa L.*), blea-berries (*Vaccinium uliginosum*), and cloud-berries (*Rubus chamæmorus*), — and roots of *Claytonia acutifolia*, *Hedisarum obscurum*, and *Polygonum viviparum*. A little water was added, and the whole was kneaded in troughs, for making puddings, which the white whale was to take along on its journey. These puddings are called čʻlqačil. When they were ready, the women representing the different families passed from one corner to the other, and exchanged presents, consisting of small pieces of pudding. After this exchange of presents, the host and other men brought in from the porch the heads of the white whale and the two seals, and hung them on a cross-beam at one side of the hearth.

The silence was suddenly interrupted. From all sides of the house were heard joyous exclamations of the women, who exchanged greetings with one another, — "Here dear guests have come!" "Visit us often;" "When you go back to sea, tell your friends to call on us also, we will prepare just as nice food for them as for you;" "We always have plenty of berries;" etc., — and they pointed with their fingers at the puddings that were placed on boards. The fire of the hearth was supposed to represent the sea, to which the whale returns. The charms which guard the whale's skin, as described above, are not used in the equipment for the home journey of the white whale.

Everybody in the house was carried away with excitement. The men and children talked aloud, and crowded around the hearth. Soon the hunters hung up over the hearth, to boil, the livers of the white whale and of the seals, and the skin of the whale. Then the host, a grass collar around his neck, took a piece of the fat of the white whale, and threw it into the fire, saying, "Caqhičnin" [Being, Something-existing], "we are burning it in the fire for thee!" Then he went to the shrine, placed pieces of fat before the guardians, and smeared their mouths with fat. Thereupon all those present in the house began to partake of the food. They ate dried fish (dipping it in white-whale or seal oil), boiled seal-meat and whale-meat, broiled skin of the white whale, and pudding. The naked bodies of the men (who had taken off their coats), the excited faces of the women, the children's faces smeared with oil, the smoke of the hearth, and the soot from the lamps, — all these together offered a strange sight. The concluding ceremony of the evening was divining with a shoulder-blade of a seal. This was done by two old men. One held the shoulder-blade, and the other one piled burning coals on it. All the men examined the cracks which formed in the shoulder-blade. First a crack appeared parallel to the longer side of the bone, which caused anxiety among those present. Such a crack indicates dry land and mountains. Since the object of the divination was to discover whether the white whale would go back to the sea and call others

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4/Koryak RY4

to visit the settlement, the augury desired was a line indicating the sea. To the delight of all the participants in the ceremony, there soon appeared another crack across the bone, and intersecting the first line. Such a line indicates the sea; that is, that the home journey of the whale will be happily accomplished (see Fig. 31).

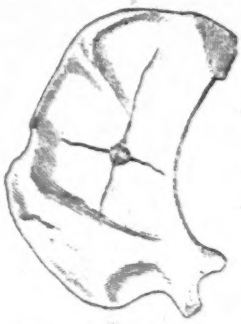

Fig. 31. Shoulder-Blade of a Seal, used for Divination. (From a sketch.)

The ceremony of the equipment for the home journey of the white whale took place on the fifth day, in the morning of the 15th of October. During the three days intervening, — from the 11th to the 15th, — the inhabitants did not do any work. They called on each other, and gave feasts; but most of their time was spent in the house in which the ceremonies were taking place. The old men ate fly-agaric, and, when the intoxication had passed, they told whither the "Fly-Agaric Men" (Wapa'qala'nú) had taken them, and what they had seen. The women and the young people sang and beat the drum.

In the evening of the 14th there was another gathering in Qaivi'lok's house. This time only two lamps were burning in the house. The women finished plaiting the grass bags required for the ceremony, and the host beat the drum and sang. Then his sisters beat two drums, and sang in praise of the guests, — that is, of the white whale and the seals, — dancing at the same time in the same way as they had done on the shore when meeting the white whale. During this ceremony they were overcome with such a frenzy, that the deafening roar of their drums was completely drowned by their desperate shrieks, which alternated with guttural rattlings.

On Oct. 15 the frost was rather severe, the minimum temperature being —23° C. For more than a mile the shallow beach was covered with blocks of ice, so that the high tide no longer reached the village. Winter had set in, and all hunting of sea-animals ceased.

By ten o'clock in the morning I was called into Qaivi'lok's house. The low entrance-door leading from the porch, which is closed for the winter, was still open. So far the opening in the roof had served only to admit light from outside, and to let out the smoke from within, but not as an entrance. The hearth was turned into something like an altar. On it were lying the travelling-bags plaited of grass (*Elymus mollis*), and filled with puddings which had been frozen outside. The heads of the white whale and of the seals had been placed on the altar, and sacrificial sedge-grass was hung around them. It was a bright, sunny day; and the light passing through the smoke-hole illuminated well the centre of the house and the hearth, leaving the recesses nearer the walls in semi-darkness. The light in the middle of the house permitted me to take a photograph of the hearth without the use of the flash-light (Plate v, Fig. 1).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

VI. — BIRTH, DEATH, AND FUNERALS.

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Birth. — Before a child is born, the Supreme Being sends into the mother's womb the soul (uyi'čit) of some deceased relative of the child to be born. The length of life of each soul is determined beforehand. Souls are hanging on the cross-beams of the house of The-One-on-High. The duration of the earthly life of the future possessor of the soul is marked by the strap which is attached to the soul's neck or thumb. The shorter the strap, the shorter will be the life of the new-born. A drawing made by the Koryak Yulta, already described (see Fig. 40, p. 93), illustrates the Koryak idea of souls hanging in the house of the Supreme Being.

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As soon as a child is born, it is given the name of the dead relative whose soul has been reborn in it. The father of the new-born uses a divining-stone called Little-Grandmother (An·a'pel) to discover whose soul has entered the child. The divining-stone is hung by a string to a stick, the latter is lifted, and the stone begins to swing; or it is hung from a tripod made of small sticks. The father of the child enumerates the names of the deceased relatives on his and his wife's side. When the name of the relative whose soul has entered the child is mentioned, the divining-stone begins to swing quicker. Another way of determining the identity of the soul is by observation of the behavior of the child itself. A number of names are mentioned. If the child cries while a name is pronounced, it shows that it is not the name of the soul reborn in the child. When the proper name is pronounced, the child stops crying, or begins to smile. After the name has been given, the father takes the child in his arms, carries it out from the sleeping-tent into the house, and says to his people, "A relative has come" (Qaitu'mäin ye'ti). On one occasion during our stay in the village of Kamenskoye, a child was named after the deceased father-in-law of Yulta's son. The latter lifted the child, and said to the mother, "Here, thy father has come!"

If a mistake is made in divining the identity of the soul which entered the new-born child, something will ail the child after it has been named. Then this mistake may be corrected, and its name is usually changed by means of repeated divination.

Neither I myself nor my wife was present at a confinement, nor did we witness the divining while the child was named.[1] What I am going to describe here is recorded from what the Koryak have told me.

[1] In every village, I made inquiries about pregnant women, asking them to call my wife when the confinement should take place, that she might become acquainted with the Koryak methods of midwifery; but the Koryak concealed all births from us. On two occasions women were confined in the villages where we were staying, but we learned of it only *post factum*.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

Like certain other vegetable poisons, as opium and hasheesh, the alkaloid of fly-agaric produces intoxication, hallucinations, and delirium. Light forms of intoxication are accompanied by a certain degree of animation and some spontaneity of movements. Many shamans, previous to their seances, eat fly-agaric in order to get into ecstatic states. Once I asked a Reindeer Koryak, who was reputed to be an excellent singer, to sing into the phonograph. Several times he attempted, but without success. He evidently grew timid before the invisible recorder; but after eating two fungi, he began to sing in a loud voice, gesticulating with his hands. I had to support him, lest he fall on the machine; and when the cylinder came to an end, I had to tear him away from the horn, where he remained bending over it for a long time, keeping up his songs.

Under strong intoxication, the senses become deranged; surrounding objects appear either very large or very small, hallucinations set in, spontaneous movements, and convulsions. So far as I could observe, attacks of great animation alternate with moments of deep depression. The person intoxicated by fly-agaric sits quietly rocking from side to side, even taking part in the conversation with his family. Suddenly his eyes dilate, he begins to gesticulate convulsively, converses with persons whom he imagines he sees, sings, and dances. Then an interval of rest sets in again.

However, to keep up the intoxication, additional doses of fungi are necessary. Finally a deep slumber results, which is followed by headache, sensations of nausea, and an impulse to repeat the intoxication. If there is a further supply of fungi, they are eaten. At the beginning of winter, when the supply is still large, old men begin their carousals. In Kuel there are two elders of the Paren clans,[1] and during my sojourn in that village I was sometimes unable to hold conversation with either of them for days at a time. They were either intoxicated by the fungi or in a bad mood from the after-effects. At the same season the Reindeer Koryak resort to the coast settlements to purchase and eat fly-agaric. To regale a guest with fly-agaric is a sign of special regard. Dr. Slunin says a small glass of brandy or diluted alcohol serves as a splendid antidote in cases of fly-agaric poisoning.[2]

There is reason to think that the effect of fly-agaric would be stronger were not its alkaloid quickly taken out of the organism with the urine. The Koryak know this by experience, and the urine of persons intoxicated with fly-agaric is not wasted. The drunkard himself drinks it to prolong his hallucinations, or he offers it to others as a treat. According to the Koryak, the urine of one intoxicated by fly-agaric has an intoxicating effect like the fungus, though not to so great a degree. I remember how, in the village of Paren, a company of fly-agaric eaters used a can in which California fruit had been put up, as a beaker, into which the urine was passed, to be drunk

[1] See p. 437.

[2] Slunin, I, p. 654.

17:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY4 Koryak RY4

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Images of ancestor spirits:
1—having "descendants"; 2—one without living "descendants."

To placate the nin'vits, the koryaks
sacrificed to them. Thus, a hunter passing by a place considered to be inhabited by a nin'vit' had to make a sacrifice of a pinch of tobacco or several cartridges. The places inhabited by nin'vit's were very numerous; they were cliffs of unusual formation, hot springs or waterfalls, places where a corpse had been burned or a hunter perished, the ruins of a dwelling, abandoned after the death of one of its inhabitants, and so forth. Koryak ideas about the dead were ambivalent. They held that after death a person became a nin'vit', that is, a harmful, hostile being. At the same time, there was the notion of ancestors who lived somewhere underground or in the sky and helped their descendants, sending them success in the hunt, protecting their herds, etc. Ancestor images were made of wood. They were small, crudely carved wooden figures (kalak), representing a sitting or, more rarely, a standing person, with a flat face, without a nose, with two hollows in the place of eyes and a rather large hollow to indicate the mouth. During family celebrations the mouth-hole was filled with fat or fat meat. Every family had whole bundles of kalaks; every Koryak had his own kalak—his personal guardian.

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The Koryaks believed that the shaman had power over nin'vit's. The shaman communicated with nin'vit's in total darkness; the entrance to the dwelling was carefully closed, the smoke vent was stopped up with a bundle of grass, the hearth fire was put out. The shaman struck his tambourine, cried out fragmentary words and phrases, danced and sang.

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The shaman's actions were usually stimulated by intoxication from the fly-agaric eaten beforehand. When he tired, the shaman fell asleep. The Koryaks believed that the "prophetic fly-agaric" led him into the next world and arranged meetings with dead kinsmen, from whom the shaman obtained the necessary instructions. On awakening from his long sleep, the shaman related his visions to the people around him.

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The Koryak shaman did not have any special dress. He performed his rituals in the usual clothing, which differed from the rest only in the large number of tags and disks of skin or beads attached to it. Some shamans made slight changes in their dress during the ritual performance, such as wearing a man's boot on one foot, and a woman's on the other. The tambourine was narrow-rimmed.

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In addition to professional shamanism, the Koryaks also practiced family shamanism, predominantly in the hands of women. This was closely bound to the cult of the family hearth. Every member born in a family was regarded as a reincarnation of an ancestor. The exact identity of the ancestor was learned with the aid of divination. For this purpose, a stone in a leather pouch was suspended from a small tripod. The eldest member of the family

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17:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY4 Koryak RY4

Preparations for burning a corpse.

pronounced in succession the names of the dead ancestors until the stone shook at the sound of the name. Then the family felt that the name had been guessed, and it was given to the newborn.

The reindeer-breeding and the sedentary Koryaks held various seasonal celebrations. The main holiday of the reindeer-breeders was the spring kil'vey—the festival of horns. It was celebrated after the calving, when the herd was brought to the encampment. The people brought out of their dwellings bowls with pieces of meat and the sacred wooden fire-making device which they proceeded to "feed." In autumn, they celebrated the festival of the autumn deer slaughter. This festival was also attended by shamanistic performances, sacrifices, and the "feeding" of the wooden fire-maker. The coastal hunters celebrated the festival of floating the baydar in the spring, at the beginning of the spring hunting season. At this time they sacrificed dogs. After the celebration, they opened the summer entrance to the semi-dugout. After the closing of the autumn sea hunting season (in November) the coastal Koryaks held the "seal festival" (in olden times it was the "whale festival"). The participants in the celebration pleaded with the animals killed during the hunt to return to the sea and let themselves be caught again next year, and also to bring along their relatives with them. The dead animals were replaced by zoomorphic representations made of seaweed.

The creator of men and the universe, according to Koryak beliefs, was An'an' or Etyny. However, when man was being created, the harmful being, Nen'vetgyyn'yn, intervened. It took out the hard hearts of the first men and substituted clay hearts; this led to all the weaknesses, diseases and misfortunes among men.

The Koryaks regarded wolves as their relatives (some sources also name the bear). The wolf was described as a shaman animal. Even in the 20th century, many Alyutortsy strictly observed the taboo on killing wolves, which, of course, had an extremely adverse effect on their reindeer-breeding.

The Koryaks burned the bodies of their dead.

Folk Arts

The Koryaks had a cycle of myths closely akin to those of the Chukchi and Itel'mens, and similar to the Eskimos'. The principal character of these myths is the raven-creator (in Koryak, Kuykynnyaku or Kutkynnyaku) which, according to the beliefs of these peoples, gave people all their material goods: he gave men reindeer and dogs, and taught them reindeer-breeding, fishing, sea hunting, and the use of dog transportation. In some of the myths, the image of the raven is fused with the image of the Etyny. But most

23: Krasheninnikov N-3 (1736-40) 1764 Koryak

756 785 During their ſacrifices their *ſhamans* or ſorcerers beat a little drum like that uſed by the *Jakutſki*, and the neighbouring nations. Some of the *Shamans* are reckoned phyſicians, and are thought, by beating upon the drum, to drive away diſtempers. In the year 1739 I had an opportunity of ſeeing, at the lower *Kamtſchatkoi* fort, the moſt famous *Shaman Carimlacha*, who was not only of great reputation among theſe wild people, but was alſo reſpected by our Coſſacks, for the many extraordinary feats that he performed; particularly that of ſtabbing his belly with a knife, and letting a great quantity of blood run out, which he drank: however this he performed in ſuch an awkward manner, that any one, who was not blinded by ſuperſtition, might eaſily diſcover the trick. At firſt, ſitting upon his knees, and beating ſome time upon his drum, he ſtruck his knife into his belly, and then, from below his furred coat, he drew out a handful of blood, which he eat, licking his fingers. I could not help laughing at the ſimplicity of the trick, which the pooreſt player of legerdemain would have been aſhamed of. One might ſee him ſlip the knife down below his furr, and that he ſqueezed the blood out of a bladder which he had in his boſom. After all this conjuration he thought ſtill to ſurpriſe us more by ſhewing us his belly all bloody, pretending to have cured the wound which he had not made. He told us, that the evil ſpirits appeared to him in different forms, and came from different places; ſome came from the ſea, others out of the burning mountains; ſome of them were very large, and ſome very ſmall; ſome had no hands, and ſome were half burned; the ſpirits of the ſea were much finer dreſſed than the others, and appeared to him as it were in a dream, and at ſuch a time they tormented him ſo much, that he was almoſt out of his ſenſes.

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755 782 When the ſorcerers pretend to cure any diſtemper by their conjurations, ſometimes they order a dog to be killed, at other times